

suggest that it does not fit, that Congress has always responded to recessions after they were over. And, in fact, what ended up usually was pork-barrel spending that became a part of the total budget program that went on.

Between 1980 and 1984—which includes years of deep recession—real spending on jobless benefits rose \$47.4 billion above its level in 1979, an economic peak. That increase was just 1% of government spending over those four years.

Recessions have been less severe in the postwar period, many economists argue.

That is exactly the point of those figures, the argument that somehow we straitjacket our Government by a balanced budget not able to respond to times of recession, and the facts simply do not bear it out, the economic facts, not mine, but those of the economists who study this.

So when Secretary Rubin fears straitjacketing, what Secretary Rubin fears is that the American people will once again have control of their budget and the spending of the Federal Government and that we take it out of the hands of politicians and force them to stay within parameters and make the tough choices and to stop mounting the huge Federal debt that we are currently having.

That is the essence of a balanced budget amendment. That is why we are here on the floor, because the American people have asked us to do this. I am one of those who believes so strongly that the record is replete with the facts that we as politicians cannot do it.

Some of us can make those tough votes; others cannot for various reasons. It is true that, as never before, special interest groups come to Washington for a piece of the pie. So it is easy to give it away and make the pie bigger. The only problem is we borrow hundreds of billions of dollars annually to make the pie, expecting future generations to pay for the ingredients. Therein lies the great discrepancy, why we are here.

It is an important issue. We must fight to make sure that we retain it and that we pass the balanced budget constitutional amendment resolution and disallow the kind of amendments that would weaken it or make it hollow at best. We cannot put that kind of language in our Constitution.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD addressed the Chair.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Connecticut is recognized.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be able to proceed as in morning business and the time I use not be deducted from the debate on the pending business.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DODD. I thank the President.

Mr. President, I have a couple of items that I would like to address, if I may, here of a different nature than

the debate on the constitutional amendment for a balanced budget. Myself, I will have some remarks later in the day on that subject matter, but I would like to take a little bit of time, if I could, to raise several issues.

(The remarks of Mr. DODD pertaining to the submission of Senate Congressional Resolution 6 are located in today's RECORD under "Submission of Concurrent and Senate Resolutions.")

#### TRIBUTE TO PAMELA HARRIMAN

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, all of us in this country were deeply saddened by the tragic death of Pamela Harriman in Paris a few days ago. Regardless of party or political persuasion, this was a remarkable woman who spent a lifetime, from the basement of 10 Downing Street with that most revered of leaders of the 20th century, Sir Winston Churchill, to representing the United States in the Embassy in Paris. Hers was a remarkable life in many ways.

As we have been reading about the legend of Pamela Harriman over the past few days not enough attention, in my view, is being paid to her profound legacy to this country. Most of us—I think all of us, maybe with some exception in this Chamber—were born in this country. We did not make the choice to be Americans. We were fortunate enough that our parents or grandparents or great-grandparents came to this country, and we were the beneficiaries of those decisions.

I have always thought it was somewhat different for people who made the choice, the conscious choice to become an American. Pamela Harriman made that choice to be an American and contributed mightily to this country. She was engaged in the political process. She was a partisan. And I say to my friends on the other side, I think that is healthy when people become engaged and not only have ideas and values and beliefs, but are willing to act on them. And for those of us who are Democrats, we will be eternally grateful for her support and her willingness to be engaged in the political life in this country. For people, regardless of political persuasion, she was a great individual who represented our country in Paris with great distinction.

There was a column presented the other day, Mr. President, by Richard Holbrooke in the Washington Post which I think captured in many ways the feelings of many of us about Pamela Harriman's service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that column by Richard Holbrooke be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed to the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 6, 1997]

#### PAMELA HARRIMAN'S LAST MISSION

By Richard Holbrooke

If, as Soren Kierkegaard said, "Life is lived forward but understood backward," then the arc that Pamela Harriman traveled can best be understood by beginning at its end, with

her ambassadorship to France. The four years she spent in Paris in service to her adopted nation gave a different meaning to what had gone before it, not only to her biographers but also to herself. In retrospect, everything that preceded Paris will look different because, after a life in which she was identified closely with a series of important men, she did something important so splendidly on her own.

She spent her last hours before she fell ill in a characteristic whirlwind of activity. Less than an hour before her fatal attack, she was discussing on the telephone with her friend Undersecretary of State Peter Tarnoff some highly technical problem concerning the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe. This was not the public Pamela Churchill Harriman, the one the press always described as "beautiful and glamorous," but the intensely serious public servant, handling personally a matter most ambassadors would have left to someone else. Then, after discussing the CFE with Tarnoff, she went swimming at the Hotel Ritz and, as she got out of the pool, collapsed without warning.

Because Pam was the daughter of a Dorset baron, I often asked her, teasingly, how she had managed to overcome the disadvantages of her birth. But in a sense, I meant it; had she followed the normal trajectory for a girl of her generation and limited education, she would perhaps have lived out the last few years of a fairly predictable life as, say, a duchess dowager in some stately English home. Instead she began a 57-year voyage almost continuously in the public eye.

The standard stories always emphasize the men in each phase of Pam's life, and there was truth in this; she herself talked of it occasionally with her close friends. But the role men played in her life can be misunderstood. It is true that she loved, and was loved by, an extraordinary group of men. But Pam absorbed more than the luxuries of life from her close proximity to men in power. From each of them she learned something new and gave something back. It was with Averell Harriman, a major figure in both foreign policy and the Democratic Party for half a century, that she returned to the world of public affairs, this time not as the British daughter-in-law of Winston Churchill but as a proud new American citizen. She became increasingly involved in Harriman's two major concerns: the Democratic Party and American foreign policy. Thus, when President Clinton made the decision to send her to Paris in 1993, she was more prepared than either she or most of us realized.

Unlike many political appointees, she was determined to understand the most complex details of her job. At the same time, she remained a perfectionist, equally determined to present a flawless facade. When, as her "boss," I tried to get her to take more time off, to relax more, to do less, she simply said, "I can't do that. I'm not built that way."

Her efforts produced results not only for her personally but for the nation. In the famously difficult relationship between Washington and Paris, Pam achieved a level of access to the highest levels of the French government that was unique. While the press focused on the strains in the relationship, these were never as serious as reported, and in any case they would have been far greater without Pam's ability to bring officials of both nations—most of them younger than her son Winston—together under her roof to work things out. It was one of her enduring beliefs that if she could get the right people together in a room she could get them to agree, or at least reduce their disagreements. That she was so often right, in the face of the usual bureaucratic passivity or pessimism, was a tribute to her determination and tenacity.

Almost exactly 28 years ago, on January 19, 1969, a group of us went to Orly airport in Paris to say goodbye to Averell Harriman, who was leaving his post as chief negotiator to the Vietnam Peace Talks on the day before Richard Nixon's inauguration. Harriman was 76 years old, and that day in Paris was to be his last as a U.S. government official. Now, at the same age and in the same city, his widow has gone out as she would have wanted to, just as she was ending a successful mission for her nation.

#### TRIBUTE TO CASEY MILLER

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, a third subject matter I raise here in morning business today is one that did not get national attention except for those who may have been interested. But I want to pay tribute to a neighbor of mine, Mr. President, a neighbor and a friend, a woman who truly revolutionized the way we speak and write in this country. Casey Miller is her name.

Throughout her life, Casey Miller promoted and venerated the role of women in our society by fighting to eradicate gender-specific language from everyday speech.

Postal worker, artisan, police officer, and restaurant server are just some of the words that enter the glossary of modern English because of Casey Miller. While many falsely see these words as political correctness gone awry, they in fact represent a genuine effort to place America's women on the same linguistic standing as men.

Her book, "The Handbook of Nonsexist Writing" is still considered the standard reference guide on how to correctly utilize language in order to properly address and speak of women. Too often in everyday discussions we use the words "man," "men," and "he," as if they were interchangeable for all people. But these words only describe the role of the male gender and they demean to many women the significant position of women in our society.

As the English novelist Thomas Hardy once said, "It is difficult for a woman to define her feelings in language which is chiefly made by men to express theirs." The fact is that "the man on the street" may be the woman with a strong opinion. Things that are "man-made" are often built by women. The "man of the house" is by no means always a man. And the "land where our fathers died" is the same land of our mothers.

Through Casey Miller's writings, more and more Americans became aware of the implicit discrimination in our language and the distinct individuality of women in our society. Though she was not a household name, Mr. President, for most Americans, her impact on the way we write and speak has been profound. For all of her efforts she deserves the appreciation of women and men across this country of ours.

Besides her groundbreaking work on behalf of women, Casey Miller was an active and vital participant in humanitarian and philanthropic causes.

Through Childreach, the U.S. branch of Planned Parenthood International, Ms. Miller served as a foster parent for dozens of children in poor and disadvantaged countries. What is more, she shared her good fortune with others, generously donated to her alma mater Smith College, the NAACP, and the Humane Society.

On a personal level I rise here, Mr. President, to talk about Casey Miller who passed away a number of days ago not just because she was a pioneer in the feminist movement, served our country in uniform in previous conflicts, but she was a dear friend, and she happens to have been my next door neighbor in Connecticut. More than just being an activist and someone who made a significant contribution through a particular avenue that she sought, she was a wonderful, wonderful, friend. I cannot tell you the countless breakfasts, lunches, and dinners, so lively across the lawn. I could spend an evening with Casey Miller and Kate Swift, her lifetime friend and partner.

For millions of us across the country, Casey Miller has had an impact—you may not know her name—for the way we speak today, for the changes that have occurred. Even in our own legislative body Casey Miller made a significant contribution.

Mr. President, I just wanted to rise this morning and pay tribute to my neighbor. I will miss her very, very much. She was a wonderful friend, a great person, an individual who proved, once again, that one person can truly make a difference in our society.

I ask unanimous consent that two editorials about Casey Miller be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CASEY MILLER, 77, A PROMOTER OF USING  
NONSEXIST LANGUAGE  
(By Lawrence Van Gelder)

Casey Miller, a writer and editor who was a pioneering advocate of nonsexist language, died on Sunday at her home in East Haddam, Conn. She was 77.

Kate Swift, her close friend and co-author, said the cause of death was chronic obstructive lung disease.

Beginning in the early 1970's, Ms. Miller and Ms. Swift co-wrote numerous books and articles on English usage and its relationship to the status of women. Writing in a climate of increasing sensitivity and opposition to language that relegated women to secondary status, Ms. Miller and Ms. Swift waged a forceful campaign against what many considered sexist language. If not all their proposals (like "genkind" to replace mankind) found their way into everyday usage, the women nonetheless helped to raise awareness of oppression by language.

Ms. Miller and Ms. Swift were the authors of "Words and Women," published in 1976 by Doubleday and 1991 by HarperCollins, and "The Handbook of Nonsexist Writing," published in 1980 by Lippincott & Crowell and in 1988 by HarperCollins. They also wrote many articles on sexism in English that appeared in national periodicals and in more than 30 anthologies and textbooks.

They achieved widespread recognition as authorities on the subject of linguistic dis-

paragement of women with "One Small Step for Genkind," a 1972 article in The New York Times Magazine that was reprinted in college textbooks as recently as last year.

In it, they wrote: "Except for words that refer to females by definition (mother, actress, Congresswoman), and words for occupations traditionally held by females (nurse, secretary, prostitute), the English language defines everyone as male. The hypothetical person ('If a man can walk 10 miles in two hours . . .'), the average person ('the man in the street') and the active person ('the man on the move') are male. The assumption is that unless otherwise identified, people in general—including doctors and beggars—are men.

"It is a semantic mechanism that operates to keep women invisible; 'man' and 'mankind' represent everyone; 'he' in generalized use refers to either sex; the 'land where our fathers died' is also the land of our mothers—although they go unsung. As the beetle-browed and mustachioed man in a Steig cartoon says to his two male drinking companions, 'When I speak of mankind, one thing I don't mean is womankind.'"

Ms. Swift said yesterday that the idea for the article grew out of their first collaboration as editors in 1970, on a sex education handbook for high schools that talked about the nature of man and man's behavior and used the pronoun "he" in ways that made it impossible to know whether the author was writing about both males and females or only about males.

"We began to think this was a field that needed to be written about and explored," Ms. Swift said.

Their articles on the subject first appeared in New York magazine and in the first issue of Ms. magazine. The New York Times Magazine article appeared on April 16, 1972, and "got an awful lot of negative comment," Ms. Swift said.

Casey Geddes Miller was born on Feb. 26, 1919, in Toledo, Ohio. She received a bachelor of arts degree in 1940 from Smith College, where she was a philosophy major. During World War II, she served for three years in the Navy, working in Washington in naval intelligence.

She was on the staff of Colonial Williamsburg from 1947 to 1954, when she became the curriculum editor of the publishing house of the Episcopal Church, Seabury Press. Ten years later, she became a free-lance editor, working at her home in Greenwich and after 1967 in East Haddam, where she formed her editorial partnership with Ms. Swift.

She is survived by her sisters, Kate R. Gregg of Falmouth, Me., and Caroline S. Cooper of Gilmanton, N.H.

#### TAKING ON "MANKIND"

Gender-neutral phrases like postal carrier and police officer roll off our tongues nowadays as if they had always been a part of our linguistic consciousness. But we know that's not true. Until a few years ago, the English language was loaded with male-biased terms.

A turning point came in 1980, with the "Handbook of Nonsexist Writing," today considered the standard reference on how to avoid degrading women with words. Its co-authors were Casey Miller and Kate Swift of East Haddam.

Ms. Miller died Sunday at the age of 77.

In dozens of magazine articles and two books, Ms. Miller and Ms. Swift made a strong case for banishing gender-biased words from our everyday language.

Many of their proposals—such as eliminating suffixes -ess and -ette and replacing loaded words like "craftsman" with the neutral "artisan"—have been widely adopted.